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## THE FRENCH HAKLUYT; MARC LESCARBOT OF VERVINS

THE rôle played by France in American discovery and colonization during the course of the sixteenth century was by no means such a minor and unimportant one as is generally supposed. Apart from the fact that her privateers long preceded the English of Elizabeth's day in their attacks on Spanish commerce—even Columbus dreaded a brush with these French rovers—vessels under the command of such men as de Gonneville, Verrazano, the Parmentiers, Jacques Cartier, Jean Alfonse, Villegagnon, Ribaut, Laudonnière and the Marquis de la Roche made the *fleur-de-lis* known and respected along the whole Atlantic coast from Labrador as far south as Brazil. True it is, that Frenchmen did not go much further afield in these parts. No French vessel entered the Pacific through the straits of Magellan nor is there any record of an attempt on the part of a Frenchman to solve the mystery of a North-west Passage. The colonies sent out at this time to America by France also proved unsuccessful; but so did those which came from England. Indeed at the close of the century, France was the only power outside Spain and Portugal which had a foothold in America.<sup>1</sup>

Comparing the whole careers of France and England in America in the sixteenth century that of France was indeed the more brilliant during the first half of that century. Then took place the voyages of de Gonneville and Denis to Brazil, those of the Parmentiers to the same region as well as to Cape Breton and Newfoundland, that of Verrazano along the whole coast from South Carolina northward as far as Cape Breton; while the exploration of the Gulf of St. Lawrence and the discovery of the river of that name by Jacques Cartier during the years 1534 to 1536 added fresh and ever-green laurels to the French name. Unfortunately the attempts made by Cartier and Roberval in 1541 and 1542 to find the mysterious kingdom of Saguenay, said to be rich in gold and precious stones, met with no success—for the simple reason that no such country existed.

<sup>1</sup> This was represented by the poor wretches left by de la Roche on Sable Island and who were not taken off till 1603. Cf. Gosselin, *Nouvelles Glânes Historiques Normandes*, Rouen, 1873, pp. 10 *et seq.*

During the same period, French privateers were continually engaged in preying upon the Spanish colonies and Spanish shipping. So early as 1498 indeed Columbus had been obliged to divert the course of his third voyage in order to avoid a French fleet;<sup>1</sup> and in the year 1513 two caravels were sent out to guard the coasts of Cuba.<sup>2</sup> Ten years later the rich fleet from Mexico was waylaid near Cape St. Vincent by six French rovers who carried off two caravels loaded with gold.<sup>3</sup> In the year 1528 a French corsair burned the town of San German in Porto Rico,<sup>4</sup> while during the years 1536 and 1537 a perfect reign of terror existed among the islands on account of the ravages of a fleet of these buccaneers.<sup>5</sup> Early in the year 1538, Havana was burned and destroyed.<sup>6</sup> During the war with Spain from 1542 to 1544 these islands proved a happy hunting-ground for many a French rover and so pleased were they as a rule with the success of their visits that they continued to return, even after peace had been declared.<sup>7</sup>

The list of English voyages and discoveries during the first half of the sixteenth century is on the other hand a very meagre one. About the year 1507 Sebastian Cabot seems to have made an attempt to find a northwest passage<sup>8</sup> and twenty years later an English vessel, which had lost her consort in a storm near Newfoundland, made her way along the coast southward as far as the island of Porto Rico.<sup>9</sup> Beyond an unimportant expedition to Newfoundland in 1536, there<sup>10</sup> is nothing further to record except a few trading voyages to Brazil.<sup>11</sup> The only English privateer, of which we have any notice at this time, is one that visited the West Indies in the year 1540 under a French pilot.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> F. Navarrete, *Colección de los Viajes y Descubrimientos*, etc., Madrid, 1825, I. 245; "y navegué á la Isla de la Madera por camino no acostumbrado, por evitar escándalo que pudiera tener con un armada de Francia."

<sup>2</sup> *Colección de Documentos Inéditos de Indias*, second series, VI. 3, No. 281 and note.

<sup>3</sup> Archivo General de Indias at Seville, est. 2, cajon 5, leg. 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ , fols. 1-2. An English translation of this document will be found in Murphy, *The Voyage of Verrazzano*, New York, 1875, Appendix No. IV., pp. 164-165.

<sup>4</sup> *Colección de Documentos Inéditos de Indias*, first series, XL. 564.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, second series, IV. 425-426; VI. 22-31.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, second series, VI. 34-35, 73.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, second series, IV. 197, Nos. 407-408 and pp. 199 and 240; VI. 256, 297-298 and 302. Archivo General de Indias, Seville, est. 2, caj. 5, leg. 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ , fols. 14-15, and 17-23.

<sup>8</sup> *The Geographical Journal*, London, February 1899, pp. 204-209.

<sup>9</sup> Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations*, London, 1600, III. 129. Purchas, *His Pilgrimes*, London, 1625, III. 809. *Colec. de Doc. Inéd.*, first series, XXXVII. 456-458; XL. 305-354, and second series, IV. 57-60.

<sup>10</sup> Hakluyt, *op. cit.*, pp. 129-131.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 700-701.

<sup>12</sup> *Col. de Doc. Inéd.*, first series, I. 572 and 575.

In the second half of the century, however, matters were completely altered. France, weakened by constant religious and civil wars, had no force to waste in foreign adventure ; on the other hand England, blessed, especially during Elizabeth's reign, with domestic peace and growing prosperity, seemed to awaken to new life ; and expeditions were despatched in unremitting succession to almost all the four corners of the globe. At the close of the century not only could a writer say that " many valiant attempts had been made in searching al-most all the corners of the vaste and new world of America," but two separate expeditions had also gone around the world in the short interval of eleven years. The exploits, however, of Drake and Cavendish in the Pacific and Indian Oceans, of Frobisher and Davis in the northern seas, of Raleigh and Gilbert in Virginia and Newfoundland, of the Hawkinses in the Spanish Main, of Oxenham, Barker, Fenton and the Earl of Cumberland against Spanish commerce in general, are too well known to need recital here.

Opposed to the wonderful exploits of these men, such achievements as those of Villegagnon in Brazil, of Ribaut, Laudonnière and Gourgues in Florida, of Strozzi and de Chaste in the Azores and of de la Roche and Chefdestel at Sable Island, seem extremely moderate ones. Fortunately they do not represent all that was done by Frenchmen in America at this time. It is to be sure a most strange fact that no French writer yet discovered has anything to say of the exploits of his countrymen at this time in the West Indies. When one considers how great a portion of Hakluyt's collection is filled with minute accounts of the doings of the English rovers then famous, one recognizes what the loss of these French narratives means to the fame of the French seamen of that day. The French, however, might reply that like the Spartans of old they were too busy performing brave deeds, to find the time to describe them ; for in Spanish sources we now and again get glimpses of their doings. Thus in July 1553 the town of Santiago was taken and only given up when a large ransom had been paid.<sup>1</sup> In the following year, in which eight different French vessels touched at Porto Rico alone,<sup>2</sup> these rovers so lorded it over this whole region that the governors thereof complained to the Emperor Charles the Fifth that the French were as complete masters of those seas, as the Emperor himself of the River Guadalquivir in Spain.<sup>3</sup> In the year 1555 Havana was destroyed for the second time in seventeen years ;

<sup>1</sup> *Colec. de Doc. Ind. de Ind.*, second series, VI. 360, Nos. 492 and 494, p. 428, and pp. 434-443.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid* , pp. 427-428.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 360, No. 492.

and in the same year three other towns met with a similar fate.<sup>1</sup> The riches collected were no doubt great, for the poor colonists complained that the French now seemed to look upon those islands as all their own.<sup>2</sup>

It is notices of this sort which make us deplore the absence of such full accounts of these expeditions as Hakluyt has preserved for us of the doings of Hawkins and Drake. Had there then existed in France some one willing to make a journey, not of two hundred miles, but even of ten, "onely to learne the whole trueth from the onely man then alive that was in this (or that) discoverie,"<sup>3</sup> France's record before the tribunal of history for achievements in America during the latter half of the sixteenth century would be far more brilliant than it is. The accounts even of such voyages as those of Cartier and Roberval to the St. Lawrence in 1541 and 1542 are known to us only through Hakluyt, for the single Frenchman who shortly afterwards did try to make a collection of early French voyages to America could then find absolutely nothing about them in that language.

This man, who represents in France the position occupied by Hakluyt in the history of English geography, was Marc Lescarbot of Vervins. It was however only chance which took Lescarbot to America and only the inducement of his friends caused him to write about his voyage. When engaged in this, it occurred to him that "since loose papers are soon lost," it would be well "to add in a brief form to the account of the voyage of de Monts and de Poutrincourt, that which had been written about the earlier French discoveries."<sup>4</sup> Instead however of interviewing the living survivors of such expeditions as that to Florida or to Sable Island, he contented himself with merely reading at the King's Library anything he found in print on those subjects. He seems to have once met a connection of Roberval's but the oral information vouchsafed by this namesake of the first viceroy of Canada is of little or no importance.<sup>5</sup> Although on the other hand he has the advantage

<sup>1</sup> *Colec. de Doc. Ind. de Ind.*, first series, XII. 49-82; second series, VI. 360-427 and p. 436.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, second series, VI. 437, "Que tienen los franceses por tan propinquas y por suyas estas yslas y Tierra Firme mas que a Francia," etc.

<sup>3</sup> Hakluyt, *op. cit.*, III. 131, "As hee [Thomas Buts] told me Richard Hakluyt of Oxford himselfe, to whom I rode 200 miles onely to learne the whole trueth of this voyage [to Newfoundland] from his own mouth, as being the onely man now alive that was in this discoverie."

<sup>4</sup> M. Lescarbot, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, Paris, 1866, I. 4-5, "Et d'autant que tant de Memoires dispersés se perdent facilement. . . . Ainsi m'a semblé à propos de joindre brièvement, et comme par epitome à la description des derniers voyages faits par les Sieurs de Monts et de Poutrincourt . . . ce que noz François ont laissé par écrit des découvertes qu'ils ont dès long temps fait és parties Occidentales," etc.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, edition of 1609, p. 433.

over Hakluyt of having visited America and of having left us a most entertaining account of the manners and customs of the Indians near the Bay of Fundy, yet he would have merited a still larger share of our gratitude had he given us, as his English contemporary has done, long, original and interesting accounts of the voyages made to America before and during his own time.

Marc Lescarbot was born at Vervins near Laon of a good family sometime between the years 1560 and 1570.<sup>1</sup> The exact date of his birth is not known. After receiving a good education, he took up the study of law, but he had not yet been called to the bar when in 1598 he pronounced in his native town before the papal legate an oration of thanksgiving on the conclusion of peace with Spain.<sup>2</sup> In the following year he published a translation of a Latin work by Cardinal Baronius on the origin of the Russians.<sup>3</sup> From the title-page of this we see that he was called to the bar in that year. Among his first briefs seem to have been several in which Jean de Biencourt Seigneur de Poutrincourt was interested.

The family of Biencourt was descended from a certain André de Biencourt who was prior of Biencourt in 1142. Many of its members had held offices of importance in Picardy, and Florimond de Biencourt, the father of Lescarbot's friend, had been a gentleman of the household of Francis I. Under Henry II. he held the office of governor of the duchy of Aumale and in 1549 was sent as ambassador to the Emperor Charles V. to marry Anne, daughter of Hercules of Este, by procuration for the son of the Duke of Guise. By his wife Jeanne de Salazar Florimond had nine children, four boys and five girls. The eldest boy, a page to Henry II., was never heard of after the battle of Dreux, and Charles, the third son, was killed at the battle of Moncontour in 1569. Jacques the second son inherited the title, while Jean the fourth son became famous as the colonizer of New France.<sup>4</sup> Jean, who had received in 1565 the seigneurie of Marsilly-sur-Seine, served as squire to the Duke d'Aumale. He also enjoyed the confidence of Henry IV., who ap-

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 180, "Vervin en Tierache lieu de ma naissance," etc. Cf. Demarsy, *Notes sur Marc Lescarbot, Avocat Vervinois*, Vervins, 1868, *passim*.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 801, "A Vervin, lieu de ma naissance où je fis. . . deux actions de grace en forme de Panegyrique à Monseigneur le Legat Alexandre de Medicis Cardinal de Florence depuis Pape Leon XI., imprimées à Paris." Copies of this oration in Latin and in French are preserved at the Bibliothèque Nationale, nos. L. b. 35, 732 and 733.

<sup>3</sup> *Discours sur l'Origine des Russiens et de leur miraculeuse Conversion et de quelques actes mémorables de leurs Rois; en outre comme par laps de tems ils ont quitté la verité connue et maintenant une grande partie d'iceux se sont rangez à la communion du S. Siège Apostolic*, traduit en françois du Latin du Cardinal Cesar Baronius par Marc Lescarbot Avocat, Paris, 1599.

<sup>4</sup> De la Chenaye-Desbois et Badier, *Dictionnaire de la Noblesse*, Paris, 1864, III. 193 et seqq.

pointed him Chevalier of the King's order and *maître de camp* of an infantry regiment.<sup>1</sup> In the year 1604 he set sail with de Monts in the hope of finding in New France a suitable spot to which he might retire with his family. His choice fell upon Port Royal in Acadia and this de Monts at once made over to him.<sup>2</sup>

During de Poutrincourt's absence Lescarbot was given charge of his affairs. These seem to have kept him busy until de Poutrincourt's return in the autumn of 1604 when "those," he says, "who had attacked him savagely during his absence at once became silent and gracious."<sup>3</sup> During the year 1605 Lescarbot doubtless continued his practice at Paris, for it was from there that he set forth with de Poutrincourt in the spring of 1606 to embark at La Rochelle for New France. De Poutrincourt was going out, at some sacrifice to himself, to take charge of the colony in the absence of de Monts, while Lescarbot's excuse was his desire "to examine the land with his own eye and to flee a corrupt world." It appears that some disfavours received in court had given his mind for the moment a pessimistic turn.<sup>4</sup>

Embarking on the *Jonas* at La Rochelle in May they did not reach Port Royal till the end of July.<sup>5</sup> On July 30, 1607, Lescarbot left Port Royal on his return to France so that he passed just twelve months in the country.<sup>6</sup> He saw however very little of it except the region about Port Royal and the coast from there to Canso. The only other points visited were the river St. John and the island of Ste. Croix in the Bay of Fundy.<sup>7</sup> Although he left

<sup>1</sup> *De la Chenaye-Desbois et Badier*, p. 203.

<sup>2</sup> Lescarbot, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, Paris, 1609, p. 473. "Le sieur de Poutrincourt estoit desirieux dès y avoit long temps de voir ces terres de la Nouvelle France et y choisir quelque lieu propre pour s'y retirer avec sa famille;" also p. 481, "Le sieur de Poutrincourt ayant trouvé ce lieu (Port Royal) à son gré, il le demanda avec les terres et continents au sieur de Monts . . . ce qui luy fut octroyé." For proof of his name, cf. p. 572: "Tant à cause de la fête saint Jean, que pour l'amour du Sieur de Poutrincourt, qui porte le nom de ce Saint;" and the signature on p. 659.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 542. "Quoi qu'à son premier voyage il eust éprouvé la malice de certains qui le poursuivoient rigoureusement absent et devindrent souples et muets à son retour."

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 542-543. "Et ayant eu l'honneur de le [Poutrincourt] conoitre quelques années auparavant, il me demanda si ie voulais estre de la partie. A quoy ie demanday un jour de terme pour luy répondre. Apres avoir bien consulté en moy-même, desirieux non tant de voir le pais . . . que de reconoitre la terre oculairement, à laquelle j'avoy ma volonté portée, et fuir un monde corrompu, je luy donnay parole; estant même induit par l'injustice que m'avoient peu auparavant fait certains Juges Presidiaux," etc.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 558. "Le Samedi . . . trezième de May, nous levames les ancrs et fimes voiles," etc.; p. 581, "Le Jeudi vingt-septième de Juillet nous entrames dedans [Port Royal] avec le flot," etc.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 643. "Et le 30 de Juillet partirent les deux autres. J'estois dans la grande," etc.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 637. "Et pource que Chevalier desiroit amasser quelques Castores; il l'envoya dans une petite barque à la riviere Saint-Jean . . . et l'île Sainte-Croix

Port Royal for Canso at the end of July, the vessel in which the colonists returned to France (it was again the *Jonas*) did not leave Canso till her cargo of fish was complete, which was early in September.<sup>1</sup>

On his return to France in the autumn of 1607, Lescarbot again resumed his practice at Paris, and it was not until the Easter law vacation of the year 1608 that his thoughts were turned to the production of a work on New France. At the instance of his friends, he was soon persuaded to set to work upon a history of French efforts to establish a foothold in the New World. His plan was, after briefly reviewing the early voyages of Verrazano, Cartier, Villegagnon and Laudonnière from books found in the King's Library, to give an original account of the attempt at colonization recently made by de Monts, and in which he himself had taken part.<sup>2</sup> The work, which was finished at the end of November,<sup>3</sup> was published in the following year under the title of *Histoire de la Nouvelle France contenant les navigations, découvertes, et habitations faites par les François ès Indes Occidentales et Nouvelle France souz l'avèu et autorité de noz Rois Tres-Christiens et les diverses fortunes d'iceux en l'exécution de ces choses depuis cent ans jusques à hui*.

The work is divided into three books. In the first are described the voyages of Verrazano, Villegagnon, Ribaut, Laudonnière and Gourgues. The accounts of the expeditions of Cartier, Roberval, de la Roche and de Monts occupy the second book, while in the

. . . Je fus du voyage," etc. Cf. also pp. 752 and 822. A letter dated at Port Royal August 22, 1606, and written in all probability by Lescarbot, is preserved in the Archives of the French Foreign Office (Amérique, I. 25 and 26). It was published by M. Gabriel Marcel in the *Revue de Géographie* for January 1885. In 1613 Champlain (*Œuvres* published by Laverdière, III. 123) mentioned that Lescarbot had never been beyond Ste. Croix and four years later Lescarbot replied (edition of 1617, p. 594) that he had never pretended the contrary.

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 649. "Le troisième jour de Septembre nous levames les ancras," etc. Cf. also p. 716.

<sup>2</sup> *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, Paris 1609, p. 5. "Ainsi m'a semblé à propos de joindre brièvement et comme par epitome à la description des derniers voyages faits par les sieurs de Monts et de Poutrincourt en la Nouvelle France, ce que noz François ont laissé par écrit des découvertes qu'ils ont dés long temps fait ès parties Occidentales," and again p. 6, "Je veux donc faire un recueil general de ce que j'ay leu en divers petits traitez et memoires que j'ay pris tant en la Bibliothèque du Roy qu'ailleurs; ensemble de ce que le sieur De Monts . . . a fait et exploité au voyage qu'il y fit il y a cinq ans; et finalement ce que j'y ay veu et remarqué, en l'espace de deux etés et un hiver que nous avons esté en ladite province . . . tant pour contenter l'honnête desir de plusieurs qui dés long temps requierent cela de moy, que pour employer utilement les heures que ie puis avoir de loisir durant ce temps qu'on appelle des Vacations." He added in 1617 "des Vacations en l'an 1608." Cf. also p. 663.

<sup>3</sup> The privilege to print is dated November 27, 1608. Cf. also p. 526, "l'an dernier mil six cens sept;" and p. 624, "le dernier hiver de l'an mil six cens sept et huit;" also p. 652.



third and last he gives a description of the manners and customs of the savages of the New World.<sup>1</sup>

After stating what he proposed to do in Chapter I. and proving to his satisfaction in Chapters II. and III. that the Gauls, being descended from Noah, had always been great navigators,<sup>2</sup> and that they or other Europeans were the ancestors of the American Indians, he begins his account of the French expeditions to the New World in Chapter IV. with that of Verrazano. He does not go into this very fully however but contents himself with merely copying the account given by Belleforest.<sup>3</sup> He appears however to have seen Ramusio, for he gives the same account of Verrazano's death as that given by the latter.<sup>4</sup>

His account of the expeditions of Ribaut, Laudonnière and Gourgues which occupies Chapters V. to XX. is taken from a work published at Paris in the year 1586 under the title of *L'Histoire Notable de la Floride situee es Indes Occidentales contenant les trois voyages faits en icelle par certains Capitaines et Pilotes françois, descrits par le Capitaine Laudonnière, qui y a commandé l'espace d'un an trois mois; à laquelle a esté adjousté un quatriesme voyage fait par le Capitaine Gourgues*. This work had been published by the efforts of a French mathematician named Basanier and of the English collector of voyages Hakluyt.<sup>5</sup> It is strange however that no one has hitherto pointed out that the "tomb" in which the manuscript had been lying was Thevet's, the Cordelier's, cell.<sup>6</sup> Lescarbot, who

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 25. "Ce que je feray, Dieu aydant, en trois livres, au premier desquels sera décrit ce qui avoisine les deux Tropiques, au deuxieme ce qui est depuis le quarantieme degré jusques au cinquantieme et au troisieme les moeurs, facons et coutumes des peuples desquels nous avons à parler."

<sup>2</sup> In proof of this Lescarbot cites the "*Æquivoces*" of Xenophon. No such work ever existed. He drew his information from a volume of forged fragments published by Annius of Viterbo (Giovanni Nanni) at the close of the fifteenth century. In the edition printed by Ascensius at Paris in 1512 under the title of *Antiquitatum Variarum volumina XVII.*, the *De Aequivocis* occupies folios xxxiv to xli. The passage here referred to will be found on folio xxxvi verso while the accompanying commentary is on folios xxxvii and xxxviii.

<sup>3</sup> *Histoire*, 1609, p. 27. "Duquel je représenteray les choses principales sans m'arreter à suivre le fil de son discours." Belleforest, *Cosmographie Universelle*, Paris, II. 2175-2178. This was a translation of Münster's work with additions.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 36. "Quelqu'un dit qu'estant parvenu au Cap Breton il fut pris et devoré par des Sauvages." In truth Ramusio does not say where his death took place, but only that it was on a subsequent voyage: "et nell' ultimo viaggio, che esto fece havendo voluto smontar in terra con alcuni compagni, furono tutti morti da quei popol et in presentia di coloro, che erano rimasi nelle navi, furono arrostiti et mangiati." *Navigazioni et Viaggi*, Venice, 1556, III. fol. 417 verso.

<sup>5</sup> "Mise en lumiere par M. Basanier, Gentil-homme françois Mathématicien." Cf. also the dedication to Raleigh. "Je l'ay tirée avec la diligence de Monsieur Hakluit, homme certainement bien versé en l'histoire géographique . . . comme du tombeau, où elle avoit ja si longtemps inutile reposé," etc.

<sup>6</sup> Bibliothèque Nationale MS. Fr. 15453, fol. 177 verso. "J'ay asses amplement

does not mention the work by name,<sup>1</sup> does not give the narrative in full, but while reproducing most of the details and some of the speeches usually contents himself with merely summarizing it.<sup>2</sup> He intersperses the narrative however with reflections of his own<sup>3</sup> and in proof of his remarks cites Las Casas at some length on the cruelties inflicted by the Spaniards on the natives in Cuba.<sup>4</sup> He also mentions the work of Acosta.<sup>5</sup>

In the remaining chapters of Book I. (numbers XXI.-XXX.) Lescarbot describes the attempt made by Villegagnon to form a settlement in Brazil. He had intended at first simply to give a résumé of the work published by de Léry who did not go out till 1556, but when the first part of his book was already in the printer's hands, fresh material was given him by one of his friends which enabled him to give details of the first voyage made in 1555.<sup>6</sup> He was thus able to publish two letters written from Brazil by Nicolas Barré and printed at Paris in 1557.<sup>7</sup> He gives only the second letter in full however and reserves that part of the first in which are described the country and the natives for his third book, on the

discours l'histoire des François occis à la Floride. . . . Il en y a une petite histoire imprimée l'année passée laquelle fidelement i'avois presté sur bonne foy a un certain Anglois nommé Richard Hakluit, escrite à la main, lequel l'ayant communiquée à un jeune homme Parisien nommé M. Basanier, me la tindrent quatre mois ou environ, au bout duquel temps le firent imprimer a Paris. J'ay icy a me condoloir avec mes amis contre ces plagiaires et imposteurs. . . . Ayant commis . . . telle vilainie en mon endroit tous deux m'apporterent l'un des livres qu'ils firent imprimer pensans me gratifier avec ma copie bien escrite, lequel livre ils dedirent a un Chevalier Milort d'Angleterre nommé Walter Raleigh," etc. Cf. also MS. Fr. 15454, fol. 148.

<sup>1</sup> *Histoire*, etc., p. 39. "Que l'historien de ce voyage appelle Roy," etc.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 62. "Je ne vaux m'arrêter a toutes les particularités de ce qui s'est passé en ce voyage, craignant d'ennuyer le lecteur en la trop grande curiosité mais seulement aux choses plus generales et plus digne d'estre sçeuës." Cf. p. 45.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 51. "En quoy ie conjecture que dès le mois de janvier ilz m'avoient plus rien." Cf. pp. 58, 104, 126.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 121. "Je m'en rapporte à ce qu'en a écrit Dom. Barthelemi de las Casas," etc. Cf. also pp. 122 et seqq. "Cet authœur nous a laissé un Recueil ou abbregé intitulé *Destruction des Indes par Les Hespagnols*," etc.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 127. "Je les r'envoye à un autre qui a décrit l'histoire naturele et morale des Indes tant Orientales qu'Occidentales, Joseph Acosta lequel," etc. Cf. also p. 173.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 147. "Le Roy . . . fit donner à Villegagnon deux beaux navires . . . pour faire son voyage. Duquel i'avois omis les particularitez pour n'en avoir sceu recouvrer les memoires, mais sur le point que l'Imprimeur achevoit ce qui est de la Floride un de mes amis m'en a fourni de bien amples, lesquels en ce temps-là ont esté envoyez par deça de la France Antarctique par un des gens dudit sieur de Villegagnon."

<sup>7</sup> *Copie de quelques Lettres sur la Navigation du Chevalier de Villegaignon es terres de l'Amérique oultre l'oequinotial, iusques soubz le tropique de Capricorne; contenant sommairement les fortunes encourues en ce voyage avec les moeurs et façons de vivre des Sauvages du pîs; envoyées par un des gens dudit seigneur*, Paris, 1557. They will also be found in Ternaux-Compans, *Archives des Voyages*, Paris, 1843, I. 102-116, and in Gaffarel, *Histoire du Brésil Français au Seizième Siècle*, Paris, 1878, pp. 373-385.

manners and customs of the savages.<sup>1</sup> Chapters XXIII. to XXX., describing the despatch of the Genevan Huguenots and the subsequent failure of the colony, are taken from the work published by de Léry in 1578 and reprinted in 1580.<sup>2</sup> As in the case of Laudonnière's work however Lescarbot contents himself with relating merely the principal events, at the same time keeping up a running comment of his own.<sup>3</sup> In this connection he cites also the works of Peter Martyr<sup>4</sup> and André Thevet.<sup>5</sup>

Book II. describes the expeditions of Cartier, Roberval, de la Roche and the voyage made by Champlain to the St. Lawrence in the year 1603. Cartier's first two voyages in 1534 and 1535 are given in full. Lescarbot took his version of the first voyage from the French translation of Ramusio published at Rouen in 1598.<sup>6</sup> He also printed some verses on the voyage to Canada which were published with that edition.<sup>7</sup> In copying this account he for some reason put the "first of August" for the "twenty-fourth of July" and afterwards gave no more dates until the end of the voyage.<sup>8</sup> His account of Cartier's second voyage is taken from Manuscript No. 5589 of the Bibliothèque Nationale, which he tells us was the very original presented by Cartier to Francis the First.<sup>9</sup> He modern-

<sup>1</sup> *Histoire*, etc., p. 156. "Quant à ce qui est des mœurs et coutumes des Bressiliens et du rapport de la terre, nous recueillerons au dernier livre ce que l'auteur du *Memoire* sus-écrit en a dit."

<sup>2</sup> *Histoire d'un Voyage fait en la Terre du Bresil, autrement dite Amerique contenant la navigation et choses remarquables, vues sur mer par l'auteur; le comportement de Villegagnon en ce pays là, les mœurs et façons de vivre estranges des sauvages américains; avec un colloque de leur langage, ensemble la description de plusieurs animaux, herbes et autres choses singulieres; et du tout inconnues par deçà; dont on verra les sommaires dans les chapitres au commencement du livre. Le tout recueilli sur les lieux par Jean de Léry, natif de la Margelle, terre de Saint-Sene, au duché de Bourgogne, La Rochelle, 1578.* The edition published at Geneva in 1580 was reprinted by M. Gaffarel at Paris in 1880.

<sup>3</sup> *Histoire*, p. 165, "Quoy que je ne me veuille arrêter à toutes les particularitez qu'a écrit Jean de Léry, auteur de l'histoire de ce voyage;" and p. 170, "Jean de Léry cherchant la raison de cela, presuppose, etc. Or ie ne puis bonnement m'y accorder," etc. Cf. also pp. 186, 202.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 167. "Suivant le rapport qu'en fait Pierre Martyr, celui qui a écrit l'histoire des Indes Occidentales, lequel en parle en cette sorte," etc.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 208. "Es chartes géographiques qu'André Thevet fit imprimer au retour de ce pays là," etc.

<sup>6</sup> *Histoire*, p. 231. "Ainsi i'ay laissé en leur entier les deux voyages dudit Capitaine Jacques Quartier; le premier desquels estoit imprimé." This edition is entitled: *Discours du Voyage fait par le Capitaine Jaques Cartier aux Terresneufves de Canadas, Noremburgue, Hochelage, Labrador, et pays adiacens, dite nouvelle France, avec particulieres mœurs, langage, et ceremonies des habitans d'icelle*, Rouen, 1598. It was reprinted by M. Michelant at Paris in 1865.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 232. "Au surplus ayant trouvé en tête du premier voyage du Capitaine Jacques Quartier quelques vers François, ie n'en ay voulu fruster l'auteur, duquel i'eusse mis le nom s'il se fust donné à connoître."

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 278 et seqq. Michelant's edition, pp. 56 et seqq. Cf. p. 285.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 231. "Mais le second ie l'ay pris sur l'original présenté au Roy écrit

izes the spelling, however, and also suppressed some of the dedication which seemed to him too bigoted.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, he does not give this relation continuously but breaks it up into sections between which he inserts portions of Champlain's account of his voyage to the St. Lawrence in the year 1603.<sup>2</sup> Thus before beginning Cartier's relation he gives a summary of Champlain's voyage as far as the island of Anticosti. He then gives the dedication of Cartier's relation and the account of his voyage until he reached Tadoussac. "Let us now," he continues, "leave Captain Cartier with the savages at Tadoussac while we go and meet Champlain whom we left at Anticosti."<sup>3</sup> After giving Champlain's account of his voyage from Anticosti to Tadoussac he again takes up Cartier, whom he follows up the river to Stadacona and Ste. Croix.<sup>4</sup> After bringing Champlain to the same spot,<sup>5</sup> he takes them each in turn to the rapids of Lachine and back again. His reason for bringing out in such contrast these two voyages, over the same ground, was because this portion of Cartier's voyage had been forgotten and people were then of the opinion that Champlain was the first who had gone as far as the Rapids. Although Lescarbot does not wish to detract unnecessarily from Champlain's credit, who had himself been under the same impression,<sup>6</sup> yet he wishes to see justice done to Cartier.<sup>7</sup> Be-

la main, couvert en satin bleu." Cf. Biggar, *The Early Trading Companies of New France*, Toronto, 1900, the appendix on Cartier's Voyages.

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, Au Lecteur, "Pour l'Orthographie i'ay suivi la plus simple qu'il m'esté possible rejjettant à peu pres toutes lettres superflûes." It seems strange therefore to speak of Lescarbot's version of Cartier's voyages.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 287. "Et d'autant que le voyage du sieur Champlain fait depuis six ans est une même chose avec cetui-ci, je les conjoindray ensemble tant qu'il me sera possible, pour ne remplir inutilement le papier de vaines repetitions." This voyage is entitled *Des Sauvages ou Voyage de Samuel Champlain de Brouage, fait en la France Nouvelle l'an mil six cens trois*, etc., Paris, n. d.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 304. "Or maintenant laissons le Capitaine Jacques Quartier deviser avec ses Sauvages au Port de la riviere de Saguenay, qui est Tadoussac, et allons au devant du sieur Champlain, lequel nous avons ci dessus laissé à Anticosti . . . car il nous décria ledit Port de Tadoussac," etc.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 325. "Laissons maintenant le sieur Champlain faire la *Tabagie* . . . et discourir de la Theologie avec les Sagamos . . . et allons reprendre le Capitaine Jacques Quartier lequel nous veut mener à-mont la riviere de Canada jusques à Sainte Croix."

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 341. "Or devant que nôtre Capitaine Jacques Quartier s'embarque pour faire son voyage, allons querir le sieur Champlain, lequel nous avons laissé à Tadoussac . . . Nous le lairrons en garnison à Sainte Croix, tandis que ledit Capitaine fera la decouverte de la grande riviere jusques au Saut et à Hochelaga."

<sup>6</sup> Champlain indeed had made this statement in his *Des Sauvages*. Vid. *Œuvres de Champlain*, II. 27. "Et une autre riviere du meme costé . . . qui est celle où fut Jacques Cartier au commencement de la decouverte qu'il en feit et ne passa point plus outre." Palma Cayet added in 1605 "ni autre après luy que en ce voyage." *Chronologie Septenaire*, Paris, 1836, p. 453.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 346. "Ainsi des faits de plusieurs personnages, desquels la memoire se

sides, each did not observe the same points so that to get the whole truth one must hear all the witnesses.<sup>1</sup> After telling the story of Cartier's winter at Ste. Croix and of his return to France in the spring of 1536,<sup>2</sup> he concludes this part of his work with the description given by Champlain of his voyage home in 1603.<sup>3</sup> The story of the Gougou, however, excites his mirth rather than his credulity and he also makes fun of Palma Cayet for printing it as valid.<sup>4</sup> In Chapter XXIX., which is given up to personal observations on the accounts of Cartier and of Champlain, he corrects some faults in Belleforest<sup>5</sup> and at the same time expresses his belief in that portion of Cartier's relation which describes the Kingdom of Saguenay, although the facts sounded exceedingly strange.<sup>6</sup> He cites here the work of Jean Alfonse<sup>7</sup> and also that of Wytfliet.<sup>8</sup>

All Lescarbot's information about Roberval is taken from the slight mention of that expedition in the letters patent granted to de la Roche<sup>9</sup> and from what he gleaned in conversation with one of Roberval's descendants.<sup>10</sup> He states erroneously, however, that

pert bien souvent avec les hommes et sont frustrez de la loüange qui leur appartient. Et pour n'aller chercher des exemples externes, le voyage de nôtre Capitaine Jacques Quartier depuis Sainte Croix jusques au Saut de la grande riviere, estoit inconnu en ce temps ici . . . si bien que le sieur Champlain pensoit estre le premier qui en avoit gaigné le pris. Mais il faut rendre à chacun ce qui lui appartient et suivant ce, dire que ledit Champlain a ignoré l'histoire du voyage dedit Jacques Quartier. Et neantmoins ne laisse point d'estre loüable en ce qu'il a fait. Mais je m' étonne que le sieur du Pont . . . ait ignoré cela," etc. Cf. also pp. 365-366.

<sup>1</sup> *Histoire*, p. 366. "Car En la bouche de deux ou trois tèmoinz toute parole sera resoluë et arretée."

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 386. "Mais avant que ce faire, nous reciterons ce que ledit Capitaine Quartier rapporte en general des merveilles du grand fleuve de Canada," etc.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 415. "Ayans r'amené le Capitaine Jacques Quartier en France, il nous faut retourner querir le sieur Champlain . . . à fin qu'il nous dise quelques nouvelles de ce qu'il aura veu et ouï parmi les Sauvages depuis que nous l'avons quitté."

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 420. "Toutes lesquelles choses ledit Champlain a depuis reconu estre fabuleuses;" also p. 424, "Un sçavant personnage . . . est encore en plus grand' faute, ayant mis . . . tout le discours dudit Champlain sans nommer son auteur et ayant baillé les fables . . . pour bonne monnoye." Cf. Palma Cayet, *Chronologie Septenaire*, Paris, 1836, pp. 450 et seqq.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 425. "Lesquels écrivent sans rien digérer : de quoy i' accuserois aucunement le sieur de Belle-Forêt n' estoit la reverence que porte à sa memoire." Cf. Münster, *Cosmographie Universelle*, translated by Belleforest, Paris, 1575, folio II. 2184 et seqq.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 428. "Quelqu'un pourroit accuser . . . Quartier d'avoir fait des contes de Pline, quand il dit . . . qu'ès pais de Saguenay il y a des hommes accoutrez de draps de laine," etc. But "Ces terres là ne sont point si bien decouvertes qu' on puisse sçavoir tout ce qui y est. Pour le reste il a son auteur . . . lequel avoit couru des grandes contrées toute sa vie," etc.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 529.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 526.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 433. "Or par ladite Commission se reconoit que quatre ans apres . . . Quartier le même Roy François premier donna pouvoir à Jean François de la Roque," etc.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 433. Ausquelles faits de guerres ce Roberval acquit tant de credit . . .

Roberval and his brother made a second expedition when the wars at home were over, and that in this they both lost their lives.<sup>1</sup> He could also find no account of the expedition of de la Roche, which he places in the year 1596, so contented himself with printing his commission after the edition published at Rouen in 1598.<sup>2</sup>

The remainder of Book II. (Chap. XXXI.–XLVIII.) gives the history of de Monts's attempt to colonize Acadia. This, the only original part of the work, is also the most important, for it supplements in many places the account of the same given by Champlain.<sup>3</sup> In Chapter XXXI. Lescarbot gives the commission of de Monts after an edition published in Paris in 1605 and of which a copy is preserved in the archives of the French Foreign Office.<sup>4</sup> Chapters XXXII. to XXXVIII. tell the story of the departure of the colonists from France, of the search for a suitable spot for settlement, of the choice of the Island of Ste. Croix, of the winter spent there and finally of the removal of the colony to Port Royal. Since during this period Lescarbot was still in France he must have received his information from some of those who took part in these events. Among the chief of these was probably de Poutrincourt, for we have a number of details of his voyage out<sup>5</sup> and back.<sup>6</sup> The events in the colony during the year 1605, when de Poutrincourt was absent, were obtained doubtless from de Monts or from one of his men.<sup>7</sup> It is possible indeed that Lescarbot even had at his disposal a diary kept by some one on the voyage or otherwise he would not have been able to give the exact dates of so many events.<sup>8</sup> Chapters XXXIX. to XLVIII. contain an account of

que le Roy l'appelloit Le petit Roy de Vimeu, à ce que j'ay entendu du sieur De la Roque à present Prevôt de Vimeu, qui se dit de la parenté dudit sieur de Roberval."

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 434: "Après que les guerres eurent pris quelque *interim* par deça, ces deux champions . . . equipperent quelque navire pour continuer l'entreprise et sont encore à revenir." For a good life of Roberval see Abbé E. Morel, *Jean François de la Roque, Seigneur de Roberval*, in the *Bulletin de Géographie Historique et Descriptive*, Paris, 1892, pp. 273–296.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 431. "De la Roche duquel nous n'avons point de memoire qu'il ait rien fait, sinon d'avoir déchargé quelques 40 hommes à l'île de Sable." Cf. also p. 18. Michelant et Ramé, *Voyage de Cartier au Canada en 1534*, Paris, 1865, p. 3. "Ayant ces iours passez imprimé l'Edict du Roy contenant le pouvoir et commission donnee par sa Maiesté au sieur Marquis de la Roche pour la conqueste des terres-neufves, de Norembergue," etc. Lescarbot uses the same title. Cf. *Histoire*, p. 434.

<sup>3</sup> Laverdière, *Œuvres de Champlain*, Tome III., Chap. II–XI.

<sup>4</sup> *Amérique*, Vol. IV.

<sup>5</sup> *Histoire*, pp. 473–499.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 499 et seqq. "Par ainsi les navires estans prêts à partir pour le retour, de Poutrincourt se mit . . . dedans l'un d'iceux . . . Le voyage ne fut sans tourmente et grands perils. Car entre autres i'en reciteray deux ou trois," etc.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 503–505, 525, 530–532, 534–539.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 474, "le septième jour de Mars;" p. 475, "le sixième de May;" p. 476, "la dixième de Mars;" p. 486, "le vingt quatrième Juin," etc.

Lescarbot's own voyage to Port Royal, of his life there during the winter of 1606-1607 and of his return to France in the autumn of the latter year. Here, where he is recounting events in which he himself took part, Lescarbot is certainly at his best. His gaiety,<sup>1</sup> his inquisitive mind,<sup>2</sup> his original way at looking at things,<sup>3</sup> all come out clearly in these chapters of his work. He evidently kept a diary of his own in order to be able to reproduce so faithfully the dates of the principal events.<sup>4</sup> After describing what took place at Port Royal on their arrival and during the absence of de Poutrincourt on a voyage of discovery when he himself was left in charge of the colony,<sup>5</sup> he gives a short description of this voyage.<sup>6</sup> Champlain's account however is more complete for he formed part of the company.<sup>7</sup> Lescarbot does not go into great detail as to the events of the winter.<sup>8</sup> He has told us elsewhere however that after the day's work was over, he himself used to retire to his study where he wrote or read. He had brought with him a small collection of books as well as his Bible out of which, indeed, at de Poutrincourt's request, he preached to the company every Sunday.<sup>9</sup> In thus replacing the regular priest who had died before their arrival,<sup>10</sup> Lescarbot seems to have thumbed his Bible

<sup>1</sup> *Histoire*, p. 563. "Nous ne laissons pourtant de rire la plupart."

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 556. "Il me vint en memoire l'ancienne coutume des Chrétiens, lesquels allans en voyage portoient avec eux le sacré pain de l'Eucharistie . . . ie demanday si on nous voudrait faire de même," etc.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 545 et seqq., where are printed his verses "*Adieu à la France*."

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 545, "le lendemain de nôtre arrivée qui fut le troisième jour d'avril;" p. 558, "l'onzième de May" and "le Samedi . . . trezième de May;" p. 559, le sezième jour de May;" p. 565, "Depuis que nous eumes quitté ces Forbans, nous fumes jusques au dix-huitième de juin agitez de vents;" p. 567, "Et le 21 dudit mois;" p. 569, "ce qui occasionna de jeter la sonde par un jeudi vingt deuxième de Juin;" p. 575, "Le quatrième de Juillet noz matelots . . . appareceurent dès le grand matin les îles Saint Pierre;" p. 584, "Il arriva le Lundi dernier jour de Juillet et demeura . . . au Port Royal jusques au vingt huitième d'Aoust," etc.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 590. "l'estois demeuré, ayant esté de ce prié pour avoir l'œil à la maison et maintenir ce qui y restoit de gens en concorde."

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 589-617.

<sup>7</sup> Laverdière, *Œuvres de Champlain*, Tome III., Chaps. XIII-XV.

<sup>8</sup> *Histoire*, etc., pp. 618-619. "Ce seroit chose longue de vouloir minuter tout ce qui se faisoit durant l'hiver."

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 518-519. "Car chacun estant retiré au soir, parmi les caquets, bruits et tintamares, l'estois enclos en mon étude lisant ou écrivant quelque chose. Mêmes ie ne seray point honteux de dire qu'ayant esté prié par le sieur de Poutrincourt nôtre chef de donner quelques heures de mon industrie à enseigner Chrétiennement nôtre petit peuple, pour ne vivre en bêtes, et pour donner exemple de nôtre façon de vivre aux Sauvages, ie l'ay fait . . . par chacun Dimanche, et quelquefois extraordinairement préqué tout le temps que nous y avons esté. Et bien me vint que j'avois porté ma Bible et quelques livres, sans y penser : Car autrement cela m'eust fort fatigué, et eust esté cause que ie m'en serois excusé."

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 556. "N'y estant demeuré qu'un Prêtre en la demeure de la Nouvelle France lequel on nous dit estre mort quand nous arrivames là."

well, for in his history he cites it at very frequent intervals.<sup>1</sup> He brings this portion of his history to a close with an account of the arrival of Chevalier, of the preparations for departure and of the return voyage from Canso to St. Malo.<sup>2</sup> After a visit to Mont St. Michel which he calls the "eighth wonder of the world," he and de Poutrincourt embarked again at St. Malo in a small vessel for Honfleur whence they made their way to Paris.<sup>3</sup>

Of what took place in the Bay of Fundy in the summer of 1608, the year after his return, he was able to obtain information from Champdoré and others,<sup>4</sup> but since Champlain had remained during the winter of 1608 and 1609 at Quebec, Lescarbot was unable to give an account of events in the St. Lawrence.<sup>5</sup> His account of Champdoré's return to Acadia is however a very summary one.

Book III. is given up entirely to a description of the manners and customs of the Savages of the New World.<sup>6</sup> Since he had not thought of publishing a work when he was in the country,<sup>7</sup> he had to rely for his information on what he could recall from memory, on his journal (if he really had one), and on what he found in other writers. In the course of his remarks on the births, marriages, deaths, wars, funerals, virtues and vices of the Indians he cites again Laudonnière,<sup>8</sup> de Léry,<sup>9</sup> Cartier,<sup>10</sup> and Champlain<sup>11</sup> and also makes

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 7, 10, 13, 16, 19, 22, 49, 198-199, 484, 519, 523, 537, 555, etc.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 629-650.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 650. "Ayans demeuré trois au quatre jours à Saint Malo, nous allames . . . au Mont Saint Michel . . . Quant au bâtiment il merite d'estre appellé la huitième merveille du monde," etc.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 652. "Lesdits navires estans de retour, nous avons eu rapport par le sieur de Champdoré et autres de l'état du país que nous avons laissé," etc.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 654. "Le sieur Champlain est . . . en la grande riviere de Canada . . . où il s'est fortifié, ayant mené des menages avec du bestial, et diverses sortes d'arbres fruitiers . . . Il n'est pas homme pour demeurer en repos, et attendons bientot nouvelles de l'entiere decouverte de cette grande et nompareille riviere et des país qu'elle arrouse par la diligence dudit Champlain."

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 661. "Il m'a semblé necessaire de m'exercer en ce troisieme livre sur ce sujet (la maniere de vivre) pour ce qui regarde les nations desquelles nous avons parlé," etc.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 663. "Lors que j'estois pardela ne pensant rien moins qu'a cette histoire ie n'ay pas pris garde à beaucoup de choses que j'auroy peu observer."

<sup>8</sup> *Histoire*, etc., p. 683. "Le Capitaine Laudonniere en son histoire de la Floride dit," etc. Cf. also pp. 688, 724, 747, 757, 786, 796.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 665. "Les Bresiliens à ce que dit Jean de Leri, lequel j'ayme mieux suivre en ce qu'il a veu qu'un Hespagnol," etc. Cf. also pp. 684, 685, 693, 747.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 673 et seqq. "Jacques Quartier en sa deuxième Relation rapporte ce qui j'ay n'aguères dit en ces mots, qui ne sont pas couchez ci dessus au livre second," etc. Cf. also pp. 744, 853.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 674. "Le sieur Champlain . . . fait rapport," etc. Cf. also pp. 725, 853.



use of Belleforest,<sup>1</sup> Acosta,<sup>2</sup> Gomara,<sup>3</sup> Pigafetta<sup>4</sup> and Hariot.<sup>5</sup> His method of procedure is as a rule to give the custom of the Greeks, Romans, Hebrews, Gauls or Germans in the matter and then to contrast with this that of the savages of the New World. He thus makes use of a great number of classical writers among whom one might cite Hesiod, Herodotus, Plato, Xenophon, Aristotle, Polybius, Strabo, Plutarch, Hippocrates, Heliodorus, Oppian, Athenaeus, Pausanias, Theophrastus, Diodorus Siculus and Arrian as well as Plautus, Caesar, Cicero, Livy, Virgil, Tacitus, Pliny, Aulus Gellius, Claudian, Ammianus Marcellinus, Sidonius, Procopius and Josephus. He seems also to be familiar with the early Christian fathers and cites Tertullian, St. Augustine, St. Isidore and St. Jerome. Among more modern writers he makes mention after Jean de Meung and Joinville of Olaus Magnus,<sup>6</sup> Oribasius,<sup>7</sup> Annii of Viterbo,<sup>8</sup> Busbecq<sup>9</sup> and the Seigneur des Accords.<sup>10</sup>

The small volume of verses entitled *Les Muses de la Nouvelle France* which is generally found bound up with the history contains nothing of very great interest. There is a Pindaric ode to King Henry IV., an ode each to de Monts and de Poutrincourt; while Champdoré is honored with a sonnet. The other verses were written to celebrate special events; as the departure of the vessel

<sup>1</sup> *Histoire*, p. 683. "Et toutesfois le sieur de Belle-forest écrit avoir pris de ladite histoire ce qu'il met en avant," etc. Cf. also pp. 728, 849.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 688. "Ainsi qu'en discours amplement Joseph Acosta," etc. Cf. also pp. 725, 813, 818, 836.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 680. "L'Histoire generale des Indes Occidentales rapporte," etc. A French translation of Gomara was published under this title at Paris by Martin Fumée in 1569 and reprinted in 1578, 1580 and 1584.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 715. "Lesquels Pighafatte en son Voyage autour du monde dit," etc. This work which was published at Paris with no date is entitled *Le Voyage et Navigation faict par les Espaignolz es isles de Mollucques (de 1519 à 1522): Des isles quilz ont trouue audict voyage, des roys dicelles, de leur gouvernement et maniere de vivre avec plusieurs aultres choses*.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 698. "Car l'auteur de l'histoire de la Virginie dit," etc. Cf. also pp. 729, 872. A French translation of Hariot's work appeared in 1590 in the first volume of Bry's large collection of voyages.

<sup>6</sup> *Histoire*, p. 508. "Et si on veut encore ouïr le temoignage d'Olaus Magnus," etc. The work referred to is his *Historia de Gentibus Septentrionalibus*, Rome, 1555.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 761. "Car le vin . . . dit Oribasius," etc. *Oribasii Collectaneorum Artis Medicæ liber, quo totius corporis humani sectio explicatur*, Paris, 1556.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 788. "Et l'a fort bien remarqué Jean Annii de Viterbe." He is really citing his edition of Berosus which was published at Antwerp in 1552 under the title of *Berosi antiquitatum Italiae ac totius orbis libri V. commentarii Joannis Annii Viterbensis illustrati adjecto nunc primum indice locupletissimo et reliquis ejus argumenti authoribus*.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 775. "Ce qu'écrit le sieur de Busbeque au discours de son ambassade en Turquie." It is his *Itinera Constantinopolitanum et Amasianum*, published at Antwerp in 1581.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 875. "Le sieur des Accords . . . recite," etc. The work is his *Les Touches* published at Paris in 1585.

for home in August 1606, the return of de Poutrincourt from his voyage of discovery to the South in the autumn of that year and finally Lescarbot's own departure from New France in the summer of 1607.

Upon its appearance Lescarbot's work at once met with a good reception. It described interesting events and was written in an agreeable manner. The author was not a pedant but on the contrary one who enjoyed a good story. He himself took delight in what he related and his own questions, conjectures and observations give one pleasure even to this day. It is not surprising therefore that an English and a German translation of the work soon appeared. The first was done at Hakluyt's request by P. Erondelle who seems to have been a Huguenot pastor in London.<sup>1</sup> He only translated however that portion of the work which dealt with the settlements at Ste. Croix and Port Royal and the last book, on the manners and customs of the savages. The translation, which was dedicated to Prince Henry, was made "to the end that comparing the goodnesse of the lands of the Northerly parts with Virginia, greater encouragement might be given to prosecute that generous and godly action."<sup>2</sup> The Chapters XXXI. to XLVIII. of Book II. form the first book of the English edition, while Book III. of the French edition forms the second. Lescarbot's name however is nowhere given. The translation seems to be well done and the work must have been of great interest to English readers at the time of its appearance.

The German translation, which did not appear until 1613, gives only a brief summary in some eighty pages of the whole of the original.<sup>3</sup> This abridgment was published by a Catholic nobleman for the benefit of his co-religionists.<sup>4</sup>

Shortly after the publication of his history, Lescarbot was thrown into prison on the charge of having written a work against the Jesuits.<sup>5</sup> Whether guilty or not, he was soon released, for in the au-

<sup>1</sup> *Nova Francia or the Description of that part of New France which is one continent with Virginia. Translated out of French into English by P. E.*, London, 1609. Cf. Harris, *Notes pour servir à l'Histoire, à la Bibliographie, etc., de la Nouvelle France*, Paris, 1872, p. 25.

<sup>2</sup> To the Reader.

<sup>3</sup> Marc Lescarbot, *Nova Francia: Gründliche History von Erfindung der grossen Landschafft Nova Francia oder New Frankreich genannt. Ausz einem zu Parisz gedruckten Französichen Buch in Teutsch gebracht*, Augsburg, 1613.

<sup>4</sup> Preface. "Also hat sich ein Fürnemer Edler . . . leichtlich erbitten lassen, den Catholischen zu gutem vorgemeldtes Buch in das Teutsch zubringen."

<sup>5</sup> L'Estoile, *Mémoires-Journaux*, Paris, 1881, X. 88. "Un advocat de mes amis nommé Lescarbot en peine et en prison pour le Mastigophore de Fuzy à la suscitation, ainsi qu'on disoit, et par la trahison d'un imprimeur nommé Langlois." Cf. also pp. 87 et seqq. The work referred to is entitled: *Le Mastigophore ou précurseur du Zodiaque*,

tumn of 1610 appeared his *Conversion des Sauvages*, in which he gave an account of de Poutrincourt's return to Port Royal and of his efforts after his arrival to convert the savages in the neighborhood.<sup>1</sup> It was doubtless Saint-Just, who had come to France that summer with a load of furs, who furnished Lescarbot with most of his facts.<sup>2</sup>

In the year 1611 Lescarbot brought out a new edition of his history in an enlarged and corrected form. The corrections consisted of a fresh dedication to the new king, Louis XIII., and he also placed the voyage of de la Roche in the year 1598 instead of 1596. By means of the official statement of Cartier's expenditure communicated to him by Samuel Georges of La Rochelle, who had been a shareholder in De Mont's company, he was also able to add a few more facts about Roberval.<sup>3</sup> He also gave for the first time Cartier's commission for his third voyage.<sup>4</sup> He inserted further a new chapter on the attempt of de la Jannaye and Nouel to obtain a monopoly of the fur trade in 1588, which had not been mentioned in the first edition.<sup>5</sup> Indeed the whole work now formed six books instead of three. Book I. is composed of the first twenty chapters of the first edition, while Chapters XXI. to XXX. of the same make up Book II. Chapters I. to XXX. of the old Book II. now form Book III., while the remaining chapters of that book, Nos. XXXI. to XLVIII., form the new Book IV., but there are no changes in the text. These four books thus cover the ground gone over in Books I. and II. of the first edition. He now added an account in six chapters of Champlain's achievements in the St. Lawrence since the year 1608 and of de Poutrincourt's return to Port Royal in 1610 out of which he formed Book V. His account of events in the St. Lawrence was given to him by Champlain himself,<sup>6</sup> while for the Acadian portion of the Book he uses his own *Conversion des Sauv-*

*auquel par manière apologétique sont brisées les brides à veaux de maistre Juvain Solanique pénitent repent, seigneur de Morddreet et d'Amplademus en partie, du côté de la mouë; traduit du latin en françois par maistre Victor Grevé, géographe microcosmique, n.p., 1609.* According to Brunet the author was a certain Fusi, curé of St. Leu-et-St. Giles at Paris, and the work was directed against one of his churchwardens.

<sup>1</sup> *La Conversion des Sauvages qui ont esté baptizés en la Nouvelle France cette année 1610 avec un Bref Recit du Voyage du sieur de Poutrincourt*, Paris, n.d.

<sup>2</sup> Saint-Just reached France on August 21. *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, Cleveland, 1896, II. 140. The privilege for printing *La Conversion* is dated September 9.

<sup>3</sup> *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, 1611, p. 410. "Ainsi que ie trouve par le compte rendu desdits denieres par ledit Quartier, qui m'a esté communiqué par le sieur Samuel Georges Bourgeois de Rochelle." Cf. also p. 517.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 411-416.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 417-419.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 631, "Selon que m'a recité ledit Champlain;" p. 632, "Au recit dudit Champlain;" p. 663, "Ce qu'ayant entendu de la bouche dudit Champlain," etc.

ages. Book III. of the edition of 1609, on the manners and customs of the savages, forms the new Book VI., and does not seem to have been altered. In the volume of verses called the *Muses* he has added a sonnet to Champlain, an ode in memory of Captain Gourgues and some lines on the death of a savage in Florida who had offered to give his life for the French.

On account of Lescarbot's not being present when the printing of this edition was begun, several errors crept in which were corrected in the edition published in 1612.<sup>1</sup> The absence of the table of errata seems indeed the only difference between these editions. That of 1612 was reprinted at Paris in 1866 with an introduction by M. Tross.

In the same year 1612 Lescarbot published his *Relation Dernière*.<sup>2</sup> This is a small pamphlet of forty pages containing an account of de Poutrincourt's return to Port Royal in 1610 and of the principal events which had taken place there since that date. Although he had already given some account of these events in his *Conversion des Sauvages* as well as in the fifth chapter of Book V. of his history as published in 1611, yet he now goes over the same ground again, although he adds a notice of events up to June 1611. It was in that month indeed that de Poutrincourt had set sail for home and it was doubtless he who recounted to Lescarbot all that is here described. It was also no doubt at de Poutrincourt's request that special stress was laid upon the conversion effected among the savages for he hoped on account of this to receive some aid from the King in his undertaking.

During the years 1612 to 1614 Lescarbot was in Switzerland in the suite of Pierre de Castille the French ambassador to that republic who was afterwards appointed intendant of finances in France.<sup>3</sup> During his leisure hours Lescarbot composed some verses on the country, which however he did not publish until the year 1618.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Les Muses*, etc., p. 66. "L'auteur n'ayant peu estre present au commencement de l'impression, quelques fautes sont survenues en icelle," etc.

<sup>2</sup> *Relation Dernière de ce qui s'est passé au voyage du sieur de Poutrincourt en la Nouvelle France depuis 20 mois ença*, Paris, 1612.

<sup>3</sup> *Histoire*, 1617, p. 678, "du quinzième May mille six cens treze, moy étant en Suisse." Cf. also p. 684, "que ie receu de sa part l'an suivant mille six cens quatorze, étant encore en Suisse."

<sup>4</sup> *Le Tableau de la Suisse et autres alliez de la France és hautes Allemagnes auquel sont descrites les singularités des Alpes, et rapportées les diverses alliances des Suisses; particulièrement celles qu'ils ont avec la France*, Paris, 1618. In the dedicatory epistle to de Castille written at the opening of the year 1614 he says that he had already been there two years. "Ayant eu l'honneur et contentement d'avoir veu . . . depuis deux ans ença, le sit et naturel de ce pais," etc. *Les Bains des Feffers* on pages 48 et seqq. was published separately in 1613 at Lyons.

How Lescarbot occupied his time on his return from Switzerland we do not know, but it was not until the year 1617 that he brought out a third and further enlarged edition of his history of New France. The first four books and the last, Book VI., however, are the same as in the previous edition (except that Chapters III. and IV. of this last are rolled into one), so that all the fresh material is given in Book V. Indeed this book, which in the edition of 1611 only contained six chapters, now possesses fifteen. Although part of this fresh material (viz., Chaps. IX. and X.) is only a repetition of his *Conversion des Sauvages* and *Relation Dernière*, and other chapters (III. to VII.) are formed by subdividing former ones (viz., old Chaps. III. and IV.), yet part of the material at the end of this book is absolutely new. Thus in Chapters XI. to XV. he gives for the first time an account of the disputes between Saint-Just and the Jesuits as well as of the attempt of the latter to form a fresh settlement at St. Sauveur and of their capture by Argall. Part of this he obtained from the *Factum*<sup>1</sup> and from Biard's *Relation*<sup>2</sup> which had appeared in the previous year, while he also makes use of some letters sent to him from Port Royal in 1614.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore he prints a procès-verbal drawn up at La Rochelle in July 1614.<sup>4</sup> The account of Champlain's operations in the St. Lawrence, begun in the edition of 1611, is continued and in much greater detail. These dates and other matters now given for the first time are taken from the volume published by Champlain in the year 1613.<sup>5</sup> Some of the facts relating to Champlain's voyage up the Ottawa in the summer of 1613 had however been given to Lescarbot by a Norman friend.<sup>6</sup> Further than the year 1613 he does not go for events in the St. Lawrence.

*Les Muses de la Nouvelle France*, dated 1618, contains no

<sup>1</sup> *Histoire*, 1617, p. 677, "laquelle est couchée tout au long au Factum du sieur de Poutrincourt," etc. Cf. also p. 678. This factum appeared in the year 1614 under the title *Factum du Procès entre Jean de Biencourt chevalier Sieur de Poutrincourt Baron de S. Just appellant d'une part et Pierre Biard, Evemond Massé et Consorts soy disans Prestres de la Société de Jésus, intimez*.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 676. "Le même pere Biart passe sous silence sept mois de temps," etc. Cf. p. 668, "car le Pere Biart n'en fait aucune mention," etc. Biard's *Relation* was published at Lyons in 1616 under the title *Relation de la Nouvelle France, de ses terres, naturel du pays et de ses habitants, item du voyage des Pères Jésuites ausdites contrées et de ce qu'ils y ont fait jusques à leur prise par les Anglais*.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 678-679, 684-685.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 687-690.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 615-616, "Champlain racontant ce fait;" p. 619, "à ce que dit Champlain." Cf. also pp. 620, 634, 647.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 647. "Les particularités de ce dernier voyage m'ayans été recitées par un Gentil-homme Norman . . . ie les ay depuis trouvées verifiées par la relation qu'en a fait trop au long ledit Champlain," etc.

changes from the edition published in 1611. Editions also of the History dated 1618 only differ from the edition of 1617 in the correction of the errata and the consequent absence of this leaf.

In the same year 1618, in which also appeared his *Tableau de la Suisse* mentioned above, Lescarbot published a small pamphlet on the fall of Concini from power.<sup>1</sup> After congratulating Louis XIII. on his courage in getting rid of such a pest,<sup>2</sup> he urges him to put an end to the Turkish empire<sup>3</sup> and to subdue the peoples of New France.<sup>4</sup>

After Lescarbot's marriage, which took place in the following year, doubtless as a result of his appointment to the post of naval commissioner,<sup>5</sup> we hear nothing more of him until the year 1629, when he published a small volume of verse on the defeat of the English at La Rochelle.<sup>6</sup> On the title-page he calls himself "Marc Lescarbot Esquire Seigneur de Wiencourt et de Saint Audebert." This title he inherited though his wife Françoise de Valpergue though in what year we do not know.<sup>7</sup> This is the last production from Lescarbot's pen but the date of his death is not yet known.

Such then are the life and works of the first historian of New France. In contrast with the aridity of the Jesuit Relations and with the prolific geographical details given by Champlain, Lescarbot's bright and pleasant manner of recounting his adventures in the New World give even the reader of the present day a keen pleasure. His original way of looking at things, his poetical vein and above all the continual good humor which bubbles out all through his work, leave upon one the impression of a jovial companion and an intelligent conversationalist. Possessed of the true philosophic spirit he was as happy at Port Royal cultivating his garden and

<sup>1</sup> *Le Franc Gaulois au Roy, Sur le Repos de la France*, Paris, 1618. Another copy is entitled *Le Bout de l'An Sur le Repos de la France*, etc. Copies of these are preserved at the Bibliothèque Nationale, L. b<sup>36</sup> 1118 and 1119. Lescarbot had also signed the dedication of the *Tableau de la Suisse* to the king, "le Franc Gaulois." This pamphlet itself however is signed "Marc Lescarbot."

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4, "Toutes nations s'estonnoient de voir maistriser dan vostre Louvre un faquin . . . Il s'estoit à vos depens asservi voz villes . . . il dispoit de la paix et de la guerre. Il gouvernoit vos finances et vos armées et nous faisoit égorger les uns les autres," etc.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 12. "Il faut ruiner l'Empire de Mahomet."

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, "Il faut Sire gagner à Dieu et à votre Majesté les peuples transmarins de l'Occident." Cf. also p. 15.

<sup>5</sup> *Annales de Voyages*, Paris, 1869, I. 76-81.

<sup>6</sup> *La Chasse aux Anglois en l'île de Rex et au siege de la Rochelle et la reduction de ladite ville à l'obeissance du Roy*, Paris, 1629.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, Au Roy. "La revolution et conduite de ma vie m'ayant amené à estre heritier des services que les Sieurs de Valpergue ont depuis deux cens ans et au dessus rendu à vostre Majesté," etc.

spending the evening with his books as he had been formerly at the gay court of the French capital. That such a man should have left to us his impressions of a voyage to Acadia in the beginning of the seventeenth century and of his life there during some thirteen months must ever be a matter of satisfaction to those who wish to read in any detail the early history of New France.

H. P. BIGGAR.